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A LEAF
OUT OF
BURKE'S BOOK.
BEING
AN EPISTLE
TO
THAT RIGHT HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN,
IN REPLY TO HIS
LETTER TO A NOBLE LORD,
ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS PENSION.

By M. C. BROWNE.

"DICERE VERUM QUID VETAT?"

"PENSIONS, which Reason to the WORTHY gave,
"Add fresh Dishonour to the Fool or Knave."

"A Changeling is no HYPOCRITE;
"For what he is, he shews you at first sight."

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1796.

A LEAF

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T O

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE.

SIR,

THOUGH personally a stranger and unknown to you, I shall not make *you* any apology for this address. You have publicly avowed, in your "LETTER TO A NOBLE LORD," receiving a pension of a very enormous amount; and with that *modest assurance* which has uniformly attended you from the first outset of your political career, you have pleaded at the bar of the public, that the services you have rendered this "your adopted country," as you are pleased to term it, well merit not only that remuneration, but even much more. As every individual in this ill-starred country is in some degree more or less interested in your pension, as forming a gross

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article

article in the system of profligate and prodigal expenditure unexampled in former periods, and unknown, *even here*, till the present day—I should think myself deficient in that particular duty which every good citizen owes his country, did I not take up my pen to deny your assertions on this subject, and to tell you, Sir, and the public, those reasons which induce me on this point to differ so widely in opinion with you. In your Letter we are favoured only with your own assertion of those services, and your own appreciation of their merits and worth : In delivering my humble opinion as opposed to your's, I will take a cursory view of your whole political life—I will slightly trace the general line of your conduct, and, taking the liberty to make such comments and observations as may occur to me from time to time in the course of the task I have undertaken, will leave the public to form an impartial judgment on the whole of the case, and finally to decide whose opinion of your services, and the reward allotted to them, is the best founded—your's or mine.

So much, Sir, for this intrusion of my sentiments on *your* time and patience—In regard to the public I own myself in very different circumstances, and it is with no small degree of diffidence and anxiety that I now venture to request its attention, its candour, its patience, and its liberality.

rality. Many pens, I have no doubt, are at this moment employed in the same task, guided by persons of genius and talents far superior to what I can pretend to. I have therefore to intreat those who may think proper to read this book, to look upon it with an eye of lenity ; on this ground, that in the affairs of the commonwealth the sentiments of the meanest capacities may sometimes be of service to the *general good* ; and in order to encourage every individual to contribute his mite to the common stock, the proof of *good intentions* should be allowed to compensate for deficiency of ability ; and zeal for the public service, to supersede the fascinating blandishments of flowery periods and splendid diction. *Non omnia possumus omnes*—and he who voluntarily stands forward, in the hour of public calamity and general delusion, to strip hypocrisy of its cloak, and deception of its veil, though he may not do it with the hand of a master, is certainly entitled to “ stand in some rank of praise ” for doing that which he would have done better if he could.

When I reflect on the high ground you, Sir, have long occupied in the REPUBLIC of letters—that you are complete master of the *sublime* and *beautiful* in the English language, and, in addition to those, even of the *vis elegantia* of BILLINGSGATE itself—I tremble lest I should be accused

of inexcusable temerity in daring to enter the lists of argument with so renowned and redoubted a champion. But I console myself with the idea, that so long as I take *fact* for the basis on which to stand—*reason* as the banner under which to combat—and, *truth* as the goal which is to terminate my course, I need not fear to wage war with misrepresentation, exaggeration, and falsehood, though clothed in all the dazzling garbs of the most brilliant eloquence.

I would therefore proceed immediately to the main subject of this epistle, did I not deem it necessary to apologize as briefly as possible to the Duke of BEDFORD for the use I may in the course of it be obliged to make of his name. Thrown by fortune at so great a distance in life as to make it almost impossible to be personally acquainted with him, I should certainly, in point of decorum between man and man, have abstained, if I could, from the smallest mention of him; but, as he is so deeply implicated in the whole of the letter to which I mean to reply, it is not in my power to avoid it. I beg leave however in this place to assure him, that I entertain the highest respect for his talents and his virtues; that I wish I was in any degree capable of bestowing on them that eulogium they so abundantly merit; but that not being the case, I hope his Grace will have the goodness to attribute the failure to my deficiency of ability; and not of inclination.

Having

Having premised thus much, I hasten with pleasure to the field of action, and hope, before I quit it, to leave my adversary prostrate.

But before I advance further, and in order to clear the way as we go, I entreat permission of my readers to state here once for all the *principal* point of the argument on which we are at issue. You, Sir, have asserted, “*that your services to this country deserve the remuneration bestowed on them by the PENSION you receive*”—this I deny. This is the main question, and it is on your *own* merits alone that it can be fairly tried. The very modest comparison you, Sir, have drawn between these merits, and those of the illustrious House of RUSSELL; and in which, acting both as judge and juror, you have ingenuously obtained both a verdict and the judgment of the court in your favour; together with several other matters contained in your Letter, are merely collaterals, which I shall from time to time use in elucidation of my argument as occasion may require.

And now, Sir, as the facetious Count Hamilton says in his Fairy Tales, “*Je commencerai par le commencement, si vous plais.*”—I will take you up in the year 1766, when you first appeared in public and in Parliament, as the confidential and private secretary of the Marquis of Rockingham, then just appointed FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

You

You were then member for *Malton*, and the pensioner of that noble Lord, whom *alone* you represented in that borough; for his Lordship then did, and Earl FITZWILLIAM now does, *nominate* whom he pleases to represent him therein. You were not long before returned from the Jesuits College at *St. Omers*, and were introduced to the notice, and recommended to the confidence of the noble Marquis by Mr. FITZHERBERT, a gentleman of great goodness of heart and suavity of manners, but a staunch ROMAN CATHOLIC. I hope my readers will excuse my being thus particular, as I can assure them more depends upon it than at present may meet the eye.

I did imagine, when I wrote the beginning of the foregoing paragraph, that by setting out with you in your first entry into the House of Commons, I should at least have begun with the beginning of your *services* to this nation; but accidentally casting my eye on p. 27 of your "Letter to a Noble Lord," I perceive you assert, "*that you had earned your pension before you set foot in St. Stephen's Chapel.*" Bravo! Sir; you have done well;—the man who deals in assertions, and depends on them for proofs, should always take care to make them round ones. You have clenched the matter here, and I candidly acknowledge that you have deprived me of the power of contradicting you by facts—I can only say *positively*, that if
you

you had performed such *services* before that period, they must have been *secret services*, and as such, I should suppose, would have been paid for at the time. If they were not, and were *really* so important as *then* to merit the well earned *pension* you have so lately received, I must acquit the present Ministers of "*prodigality*"—the interest of the first year's income would, by that time, have amounted to far more than the principal sum you now annually receive, and they have certainly made a saving bargain for the nation. But they are celebrated for their wonderful regard to justice in paying off the *old scores* of former administrations, as Colonel FULLARTON, the executors of the late Mr. OSWALD, &c. &c. &c. can undeniably testify.

Still, Sir, however, we cannot help asking ourselves the question—When were these services *performed*?—What was the *nature* of them? And how are we sure they are of the high value at which this gentleman himself appreciates them? *Secret* as they were *then*, and have ever since been kept—they certainly, Sir, come within the scope of *your* capacious knowledge. You *could* without doubt, tell us, *if you would*, every article of which they consisted in the lump; but as you have not been pleased to do so, you have forced us into the ample field of conjecture, in the wide ranges of which I fear most of your readers, as well as myself,

myself, will be puzzled in no small degree before they can form a conclusion to their liking. I will only hazard a few guesses ; and if I fail, I hope the want of penetration will not be too strongly charged on me for not being able to develope so deep and intricate a subject.

Perhaps, Sir, as you had left your native land, and done this country the honour to "adopt her," you thought in point of gratitude she was bound to pay the expences of your education—and as you were then young and possessed of a brilliant and lively imagination, you might take credit for a considerable deal ; and knowing the strength and fullness of the well stored magazines you then possessed, you might conceive you had actually *earned* a pension at that moment, from a thorough conviction in your own mind, of the eminent and important services you were *determined* afterwards to perform for her benefit. I beseech you, Sir, and my readers, not to laugh at my conjecture : more extraordinary things have happened before now ; for services *actually performed*, though bearing a high estimation in the mind of the doer, have more than once been found as inadequate to the reward conferred on them as the ideal ones I have just been mentioning.—On the other hand, you might have struggled against so many "*compunctious visitings of nature*," before you could resolve to sacrifice
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all the inbred prejudices of your early life, in order to qualify yourself for a seat in St. Stephen's, that you might not only say you had *earned* the pension you have since received "before you set foot in it," but to go still farther, and add, that *no sum* could be equivalent to the exertions and sacrifices you had then made. On recollection, you have somewhere expressed the same idea in much better terms : I will therefore do you all the justice in my power by giving it in your own words.

"His Grace" (you say) "thinks I have obtained too much. I answer, that my exertions, *whatever they have been*, were such as no hopes of pecuniary reward could possibly excite ; and *no pecuniary compensation can possibly reward them*. Between *money and such services*, if done by abler men than I am, there is *no common principle of comparison* : they are *quantities incommensurable*. Money is made for the *comfort and convenience of animal life*. It cannot be a reward for what mere *animal life* must indeed sustain, but never can *inspire*. With submission to his Grace, I have not had more than sufficient."

When I first read the above passage, I thought it somewhat paradoxical ; but on a more mature and deliberate consideration and perusal of it, I

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think

think it falls in with my last conjecture—At first I did not clearly comprehend it, because I applied it only to the *services* you think you have performed since you came into Parliament; and in so doing I confess I coincided in opinion with his Grace of Bedford—“that you had obtained too much;” but after giving full weight to the several words in the passages which I have, to avoid repetition, marked with Italics, I am inclined to believe, that you refer to some *secret exertions*, or *services*, or *sacrifices*—which having made, you may *now* be entitled to say you had “*earned* your pension before you set foot in St. Stephen’s Chapel,”—and which might not be “more than a sufficient reward for what mere “*animal* life must indeed sustain, but never *can* “*inspire*.”

I shall now, Sir, quit the subject of your *earnings* “before you set foot in St. Stephen’s Chapel”—and beg leave to pay my respects to you, at the time you were first seated there. In the letter to which I am now replying (p. 27) you inform us, “*that the first session you sat in Parliament, “you found it necessary to analyse the whole commercial, financial, constitutional, and foreign interests of “Great Britain and its empire.*” Let us see to what end and purpose.

If I mistake not, your virgin eloquence was first employed, in that House of *true* and *genuine purity*, in support of the bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, passed the year before under the auspices of Mr. Grenville, the ancestor of the present "*able, vigorous, and well-informed STATES-MAN*," of the same name, "to be connected with whom you deem so great a distinction."—Mr. GRENVILLE opposed the bill with great spirit, exertion, and effect. Mr. PITT supported that measure of the Rockingham administration, tho' he at the same time politely told General Conway, and the other members of it, in the House of Commons, that he could not give them his confidence. That great statesman paid a handsome compliment to your maiden speech, which I believe it really merited. I am only sorry, for the interests of this country, that you, and the party to which you belonged, did not profit more by the excellent political precepts he that day delivered. The administration, of which you, Sir, formed a part, was desirous of repealing the American stamp act, but still asserted the *right* to tax the colonies, who were at that moment, as Mr. Grenville declared, next door to an open rebellion on account of it. Mr. PITT gave a decided reprobation of the stamp act, which was passed at a time when he was confined to his bed, and, on account of the precarious state of his health, anticipated what he might say on a future day,

day, that was speedily expected to be appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. " I will (said he) only speak to one point, the point of *right*. It is my opinion that this kingdom has *no right* to lay a tax upon the colonies. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. When, therefore, in this House, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But, in an American tax, what do we do?—We, your Majesty's Commons of Great-Britain, give and grant to your Majesty—what?—our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons of America. —It is an absurdity in terms. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire in any county of this kingdom? Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which, perhaps, no man ever saw.—This is what is called *the rotten part of the constitution*. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated."—To this sage advice a deaf ear was turned, and the bill passed, with a reservation and assertion of the *right* to tax the colonies. Had Mr. Pitt's advice been taken,

and

and the stamp act repealed unconditionally and without reserve, you, Sir, and your colleagues in office, might all have deserved *pensions* of your country. But you lost the golden opportunity, which never returned; and that loss involved in itself the subsequent loss of the colonies. Mr. Grenville, in passing the stamp act, had struck a deadly and poisonous arrow deep in the side of America. The wound it occasioned was too replete with smart and anguish to be patiently endured by her free-born sons. Rebellion was on the point of breaking out, when the Rockingham administration undertook to heal the wound, and repair the breach it had made; but, instead of probing the wound to the bottom, and expelling the irritating particles which lay there—it applied in the repeal a cataplasm which almost instantaneously skinned it over, but which left the *virus* of the disorder underneath, to rankle and corrode, till it shortly after broke out with tenfold violence.

On the 14th March 1769, Mr. Trecothick produced a representation from *New York*, which he moved might be brought up. It was couched in modest terms, but denied the *right* of Parliament to *tax* them. On that occasion, you, Sir, observed, there might be, and was, a proper medium; *but that we had an undoubted right to tax America!*—Now, Sir, mark what followed.—The
Americans,

Americans, finding this claim of *right* persisted in, took the alarm. Mr. Delaney of Maryland, and Mr. John Dickenson of Philadelphia, two gentlemen of first-rate abilities, took up their pens to warn their fellow-citizens of the snake in the grass, which was ready on the first occasion to dart forth, and sting them to the vitals. The Rockingham administration, and their bill of repeal, with the reservation of the *right* to tax, became more detestable in their eyes than Mr. Grenville's stamp act with the positive *tax* itself. The Americans each day felt themselves more sore, and "*heret lateri letbañs arundo*" resounded from one end of the continent to the other.

Perhaps, Sir, you may be at some loss to guess why I go so deep into this well-known business at present.—I will frankly tell you. It is my intention to shew, that, from your first entrance into political life, you have constantly made use of your splendid talents, not to enlighten the public, but to dazzle and dupe it, as best answered your own private purposes, or those of the party leaders under whose banners you engaged.—You steadily supported the principle of our *right* to tax America; and the baneful consequences of such support will presently appear.

This country had, for many years antecedent to the American war, been split and divided into parties;

parties ; the partizans of each of which warmly and zealously supported the political sentiments and opinions of their several leaders. A very few years after the dismissal of the Rockingham administration, Lord NORTH resumed the idea of Mr. Grenville, of *taxing* America, in which idea he found himself sanctioned by the authority of the Marquis of Rockingham and his adherents ; and the TEA ACT became the prelude of all the mischiefs which followed. It is true, that Lord Rockingham, and his adherents in both houses, yourself among the rest, opposed this destructive measure ; but the *people*, on whom your repeated and forcible declarations of the *right* had made a deep impression, were not to be persuaded, that, possessing the *right*, they ought not to enforce it. They were *even then* heavily oppressed with taxes ; and being made to believe, that, if America was subjected to taxation, *their* burdens would be alleviated ; the war in the *beginning*, odious as it was to every feeling and enlightened mind, was as popular as it was unjust. But the argument was calculated *ad captandum*, and a majority of the people was completely duped by it. The melancholy circumstances attending this abominable attempt to tax the Americans, is too well known, and even now too severely felt, to require any further comment ; and my chief reason for introducing it at all was, to ask you, if your obstinate assertion of this *right* to tax the Americans

is

is one of the *claims* you have on this country for your present pension ?

We are now arrived at the commencement of the American war, when, in open defiance of the very *right* you had previously so strenuously contended for you entered upon the most vigorous and determined opposition to Lord North's enforcing it. In the language you constantly used, you alternately resorted to wit, irony, sarcasm, and virulence—you charged the noble Lord with "*indignity and vileness* in forming contracts with the Princelings of Germany, whom you were pleased to stile *Traders in human flesh*."—You censured him in the severest terms for "*suspending the Habeas Corpus Act*, which you said would enable the Minister to *cut down the fence of liberty*, and *enslave every British subject*."—You took notice "of the zeal of the noble Lord, and the warmth of his bosom for the public weal. You supposed it to be that *zeal, warmth, and ardour*, that had induced him to assist, if not devise, *the raising of men without the knowledge of Parliament*, and by that means to act unconstitutionally "*for the good of his country*."—You lamented, that this country should be reduced to the poor dependence of hopes and prayers, *the arms of old women* ; and that a British Minister, instead of acting the statesman, and timely exerting the strength of the nation, should dwindle into a *Priest*, and piously offer up his prayers

prayers for the salvation of his country. You threatened him with impeachment, and charged him with making an *infamous loan*." Let the dispassionate reader seriously consider these several charges; let him compare the several circumstances above enumerated with those which have occurred during the progress of the present *just* and *necessary* war; and he will be inclined to think, that this is only the second part of the same tune. Scarcely one of them is not applicable to the three last glorious campaigns; yet the Minister of the present day is your MAGNUS APOLLO. Such are the wonderful changes wrought by the powers of a pension! But still all the foregoing abuse of Lord North did not obtain you one. I could enumerate a vast deal more, but I am really sick of it. You travelled in the same track through the whole of that ill-fated war, eternally baiting and pursuing him, and bespattering him continually with the filth of a foul mouth, till at length you hunted him from his high station, and the interest and connections of the Marquis of Rockingham brought you once more into the elysium of administration.

Soon after this event took place, a message from his Majesty was communicated to the House of Commons, "recommending to them the consideration of an effectual plan of *economy* through all the branches of the public expenditure—a re-

gulation of the civil establishment, &c. and desiring their assistance towards carrying the same more fully into execution." The message having been read—you, Sir, congratulated the House, and the kingdom, on the happy æra, when his Majesty, freed from that secret and injurious counsel which stood between him and his people, now spoke to them in *the pure and rich benevolence of his own heart*. The message they had just heard was the genuine effusion of his Majesty's paternal care and tenderness for his subjects. It was what good subjects deserved from a *good king*; and every man would rejoice and bless the day, when his Majesty, restored to the dignified independence of his elevated situation, was able to speak to his people in the language of his own heart; to participate in their sufferings; to praise and reward them for their fortitude. **IT WAS THE BEST OF MESSAGES, TO THE BEST OF PEOPLE, FROM THE BEST OF KINGS.**

After this brilliant harangue, culled with care from the most beautiful border in the garden of the *sublime and beautiful*, the credulous people of this country began to flatter themselves with the idea that the hour of œconomy and retrenchment was at last arrived. This was one of the topics, among others, on which you had descanted, with your usual warmth and vehemence, in your opposition to Lord North. You were incessantly charging

charging him with *extravagance* and *corruption*, the one the natural consequence of the other. To produce all the instances of it in my power would take up more both of my time and paper, than will suit the boundary of an epistle like the present : I will therefore content myself with one or two.

In the year 1777, on a motion for paying the King's debts, you treated Lord North with unusual asperity, and said, "that the time of bringing in of this demand was full of *indecenty* and *impropriety*; that when we were going to tax every gentleman's house in England, even to the smallest domestic accommodation, and to accumulate burthen upon burthen, nothing but a servility of the House, and a thorough confidence in it, and an experience in our carelessness with regard to all our affairs, could make our ministers desperate enough to tell us, *it is in such a time we have not provided sufficiently for the splendor of the Crown.*" And in the year 1782, "You did not wonder his Lordship was at a loss about *new* taxes; for what fresh burthen could he add to this unhappy Nation? We were already taxed if we rode, or if we walked; if we staid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were masters, or if we were servants; if we drank wine, or if we drink beer; and in short we were taxed in every possible way." You had also car-

ried a resolution of the House, " that the *influence* " of the Crown had *increased*, was *increasing*, and " ought to be *diminished*."

I think it necessary to remark also, that before you came into administration, you had given the broadest hints as to the extent of the œconomy requisite to be observed, and the retrenchments which ought to be made. You even obtained leave to bring in a bill, and produced one accordingly, in which was a clause to abolish the clutchy of Lancaster, as not only useless in itself, but a most enormous burthen upon the *people*, and a *disgrace* to the nation. From all these symptoms of a disposition to œconomy, great expectations were formed—your partisans gave out, that it would be productive to the nation of a saving of three or four hundred thousand a year; and a general joy seemed to pervade the great body of the people, who made themselves certain of your carrying this bill into effect, when you came into office.

This was highly increased, after the glowing description you had given of *the pure and rich benevolence of his Majesty's heart*, teeming with paternal care and tenderness, and participating in the sufferings of the *best of subjects*. Well, Sir, you are now snugly seated in the place of the facetious Mr.

Mr. Rigby, and at length come down to the House with your Bill of Reform; which being read, behold, *parturiunt montes!* this new Bill of Reform was not even the shadow of a shade to that which was originally intended: many of the offices complained of as *useless* in the first, were taken no notice of in the second; amongst the rest, the DUTCHY of LANCASTER; and on this idle and frivolous plea, that the *people* of the county of Lancaster would not consent to part with the DUTCHY, because they looked upon it as a *particular privilege*. What, Sir! gratify the inhabitants of a single county with a *bauble* called a *privilege*, which was, according to your own words, a burthen on the *whole people*, and a *disgrace* to the nation! Blush, œconomist, blush!—The burthens of the *people* seem to have had a very small place in your head, except from the mouth outwards. It is true, you had more consideration for the *disgrace* of the nation; and as there is no *disgrace* which operates more powerfully on the minds of men than that of poverty, in order to take away the odium of that, in the plenitude of your œconomy, and, according to your own words just before quoted, in a time of the deepest national distress, an additional salary of 2000*l.* a year was added to the place of Chancellor of the Dutchy, and bestowed upon one of those who had been a short time before loudest in his endeavours

vours to annihilate it entirely. Such was the *consistency* which marked your conduct when in and out of office ; and this is the Bill of Reform which you, with all your *natural* and *acquired* modesty, have since enumerated among other matters to prove, that what you had engaged to do out of office, you had performed when in it. You say in p. 9 of your Letter, that “ you suspect the “ Duke of Bedford has never learned the Rule of “ Three in the arithmetic of *policy* and *state*.” If the above be the result of *your* Rule of Three, I hope in God his Grace will ever remain a stranger to it. “ The calculations of vulgar arithmeti ; ” *the data and principles of which are fixed and determined*, but which you seem to have always so thoroughly despised, will always prove more honourable and advantageous to him, than the *changeable, tergiversating, camelion* figures, with which you calculate and make up your fums in the arithmetic of policy and state, as you are pleased to define it.

Hitherto, Sir, I have only shewn what you left undone by this Bill : I will now tell you what you *did* by it ; but before I do this, let me call to your recollection, that the grand and leading feature of it seemed to be the restraining of the power of the Crown with regard to *pensions*. You seem to cast a censure upon the Duke of Bedford, as being mistaken on this head, when his

Grace

Grace mentioned your pension in the House of Lords; for you say (p. 10), "His Grace is pleased to aggravate my guilt, by charging my acceptance of his Majesty's grant as a departure from my ideas and the spirit of my conduct with regard to œconomy. If it be, my ideas of œconomy were false and ill founded; but they are the Duke of Bedford's ideas of œconomy I have contradicted, and not my own. If he means to allude to certain Bills brought in by me," &c.

I believe there can be little doubt but his Grace alluded to the very Bill I have just above mentioned. The moment I read that part of his Grace's speech in the papers, the allusion struck me most forcibly as a very pointed one; and, in spite of your *modest* and *delicate* mention of what you are pleased to call his "few and idle years," would have convinced me, if I had not long before been perfectly convinced of it, that his Grace has not either been *idle* or *unobservant*.

In order to confuse the subject as much as possible, you have artfully blended the whole of your bills; but that shall not drive me out of my regular course. My mention of this bill came in the direct line I had laid down to myself, in tracing the political actions of your life as nearly as possible, as they followed each other.

Your

Your *pension*, Sir, is the most immediate object of my consideration; and with your other bills at present I have nothing to do. You seem to think this bill, among all the others, your *chef d'œuvre*; and if your pension does not fly directly in the face of it, then my judgment deceives me in the grossest manner.

And here, Sir, that those who read this book may be enabled to form a fair judgment between us, I will give some of the most striking of the general heads of the act, with some occasional observations on them, and the whole of the clauses relating to *pensions*, both *public* and *secret*; for you know, Sir, there are provisions even for *secret pensions* contained in it. The following is the title:

22d year of Geo. III. c. 82.

AN ACT for enabling his Majesty to discharge the debts contracted upon the Civil List revenues, and for preventing the same from being in arrear in the future, by regulating the mode of payments out of the said revenues, and by suppressing and regulating certain offices therein mentioned, which are now paid out of the revenues of the Civil List.

1st Clause enacts, that from the passing of the act, certain offices, therein specified, should be suppressed.

Obf. Among these is the office of *third secretary of state*, or secretary of state for the colonies, lately revived in the person of the Duke of Portland.

2. Any similar office hereafter established, shall be deemed a *new office*.

Obf. The Duke of Portland's is therefore a *new office*, created by the present Administration, in defiance of this Act of Parliament.

3. Commissioners of the treasury to pay all money due on the civil list on or before July 20th, 1782.

Obf. If this clause means any thing, it must be, that in future all money due on the civil list should yearly, and every year, be paid on or before the 20th July in each year. Yet, in the very teeth of this act, the civil list is now in the seventh quarter in arrear; and the servants, tradesmen, clerks, &c. belonging to the royal household, who are paid out of the civil list, in the utmost distress and difficulty!

Q. What are the laws, when the *great chuse* to break through them?

A. Cobwebs, it would seem.

E

5. The

5. *The Court of Verge, or the Green Cloth*, with all its lawful jurisdiction and powers, preserved.

6. His Majesty's buildings to be under the direction of a surveyor or comptroller, to be appointed by his Majesty.

7. The royal gardens, ditto.

Obf. Two places of patronage and emolument, either created or renewed, and sanctioned by a bill of *reform* and *retrenchment*.

11. Clerks, &c. in the royal palaces, to be paid monthly.

Obf. Seven quarters in arrear shews forcibly what regard is paid to this act.

12. No new works in his Majesty's parks, &c. above a limited sum, to be undertaken, without an order from his Majesty.

Obf. It would seem by this clause, that a special act of Parliament is necessary to prevent the servants of his Majesty from taking liberties from which the common law of the land effectually guards every private gentleman.

The above are the general heads of the bill, which I deem it necessary to notice till we come
to

to the pension clause, which is the 17th, and which I transcribe *verbatim*.

17. “ *And for the better regulating of the granting of pensions, and the prevention of abuse or excess therein*, that from and after the 5th day of April, 1782, no pension exceeding the sum of 300l. a year shall be granted to or for the use of any one person ; and that the whole amount of the pensions granted in any one year shall not exceed 600l. ; a list of which, together with the names of persons to whom the same are granted, shall be laid before Parliament in twenty days after the beginning of each session, until the whole pension list shall be reduced to 90,000l. ; which sum it shall not be lawful to exceed by more than 5000l. in the whole of all the grants ; nor shall any pension to be granted after the whole of the said reduction, to or for the use of any one person, exceed the sum of 1200l. yearly, except to his Majesty’s Royal Family, or on an address of either House of Parliament.”

Nothing can be more explicit than the foregoing clause—the recital in the beginning puts it beyond a doubt. It was made for the *better regulating of the granting of PENSIONS, and the prevention of abuse or excess therein*. It is general in its meaning—it does not say, pensions payable out

of the *civil list*, & out of the four and a half *per cents.* or any other fund; it is clearly intended to include *all pensions whatsoever*. It restricts the granting of *any one pension* to a larger amount than 300*l.* a year, or more than two to that amount, or six of 100*l.* or twelve of 50*l.*; for it expressly says, the whole must not exceed 600*l.* It requires a list even to that extent, together with the names of the persons to whom the same are granted, to be laid before Parliament twenty days after the beginning of each session, until the whole pension list shall be reduced to 90,000*l.* which sum it shall not be lawful to exceed by more than 5000*l.* in the whole of all the grants; nor shall any pension, to be granted after the whole of the said reduction, to or for the use of any one person, exceed the sum of 1200*l.* yearly, except his Majesty's Royal Family, or on an address of either House of Parliament.

Now, Sir, if you can even prove to me, that since the passing of the above act, the pension list *is reduced* to 90,000*l.* and that no more than 5000*l.* in *the whole of all the grants* have been added to it, still your pension is directly in the teeth and defiance of your own act; for as it is 4000*l.* a year, it amounts to more than three times as much as the highest sum allowed by that act to be granted to any one person, except the Royal Family, or on an address of either House of Parliament.

liament. That no address of that nature has ever been moved, much less carried in either House, I will be bold to assert; and that you are as yet entitled to rank as one of the Royal Family, I am still to learn.

In what respect then has the Duke of Bedford, "your youthful Censor," as you are pleased to call him, mistaken in the least the idea of your œconomy, when he said in the House of Lords, speaking of your pension, "that it was a departure "from your ideas, and the spirit of your conduct?" In none whatever. No rational, impartial mind can hesitate a moment to decide upon the subject; if it could, your own justification of the business would clear the matter up at once. You pretend, that in this famous Reform Bill, you had in contemplation the *civil list* alone.—"The pension "list" you say, "was to be kept as a sacred fund; "but it could not be kept as a constant open "fund, sufficient for growing demands, if some "demands could wholly devour it. The tenor of "the act will shew that it regarded the civil list "only, the reduction of which to some sort of estimate was my great object. No other of the "Crown funds did I meddle with, because they "had not the same relations. This of the four and "a half per cents. did his Grace imagine had escaped me, or had escaped all the men of business

“nefs who acted with me in thofe regulations?
 “I knew that fuch a fund exifted, and that pensions
 “had been always granted on it before his Grace
 “was born. This fund was full in my eye;
 “it was full in the eye of thofe who worked with
 “me: it was left on principle; on principle I
 “did what was then done, and on principle,
 “what was left undone, was omitted.”

The grand “*principle*” you feem to have had in view, was, to *bunbug* the nation; but like many other *ambi-dexters* who have gone before you, Sir, you have overfhot the mark, and *bunbug’d* yourfelf. “The pension lift was to be kept as a fabled fund;”—true, and for that purpofe it was limited and reſtricted in the manner preſcribed by the act; no more than the fum of 300l. a year was to be granted to any one perſon, and 600l. in the whole. It is an undeniable fact, that there is but *one* pension lift, though there are two funds, it ſeems, out of which pensions are paid. That this Bill, in its general tendency, chiefly related to the civil lift, there can be no doubt; but that any diſtinction was intended to be made between pensions payable out of the civil lift, and pensions payable out of the four and a half per cents. is the moſt ridiculous idea that ever entered into the brain of man. What are the leading words of the clauſe?—Mark, Sir—“*And for*
 “*the*

“ *the better regulating of the granting of pensions, and*
 “ *the prevention of abuse or excess therein, that*
 “ from and after the 5th day of April 1783, no
 “ pension exceeding the sum of 300l. a year, shall
 “ be granted,” &c. Can any thing be more evi-
 dent, than that these words comprehend *all pen-*
sions within the power of the Crown to grant, out
 of what fund soever they might be payable? If
 they did not, the words ought to have run thus;
 “ and for the better regulating of the granting of
 “ pensions,” *payable out of the civil list*, “ and the
 “ prevention of abuse or excess therein,” &c. If
 there were two pension lists, and two funds out of
 which pensions were specifically paid, an act to regu-
 late the pensions payable out of one fund only, would
 not affect or extend to those paid out of the other;
 but where there is only one pension list, though there
 were a dozen separate funds provided for the pay-
 ment of those pensions, any act directly enacting a
 restriction upon pensions *generally*, must include all
 the funds equally alike, unless there is some spe-
 cial exception or reservation made; and in order
 to exclude the four and a half per cents. from the
 operation of the act I am now alluding to, it
 would be necessary that some such proviso as the
 following should appear in it, viz. “ Provided al-
 “ ways, that any thing in this act contained, shall
 “ not extend, or be construed to extend, to any
 “ pension payable out of the four and a half per
 “ cents.

“ cents. or any other fund appropriated to the
 “ payment of pensions, save and except the civil
 “ list aforesaid.”

But there is one other argument which seems to me to put this matter beyond all possibility of doubt. Some short time before this act was introduced into the house, a resolution had passed, that the *influence* of the CROWN had *increased*, was *increasing*, and *ought* to be *diminished*. The finances of the country were at that time reduced to the lowest ebb ; and this bill, I always understood, was intended to operate in a two-fold way, not only as a measure of œconomy, and retrenchment of the *expences* of the nation, but of the *power* and *influence* of the Crown. If, then, pensions are a powerful engine in the hands of the Crown in the way of *influence*, and a burthen on the people in that of *expence*, and there are two separate funds appropriated to the payment of pensions, how is the nation benefited in its savings, or the Crown restricted in its influence, if, when it is tied up from granting pensions beyond such an amount from the civil list, it is possessed of an *ad libitum* to make them chargeable upon the other ?—You have confessed, “ that the four and a half per
 “ cents. fund was full in your eye ; that it was
 “ left on principle ; that on principle you did
 “ what was then done ; and, on principle, what
 “ was

"was left undone, was omitted."—You have since accepted a pension, amounting to more than three times the sum allowed by your own act; and have thereby proved that your chief aim was to dupe the people, and enrich yourself.—Oh, EDMUND! EDMUND! "out of thine own mouth will I judge thee!"

But still this four and a half per cent. fund was not the only string you had to your bow in this famous reform act. On an emergency, there was a clause for *secret* pensions, which, on a very forlorn hope, might be laid hold of: and let me tell you, Sir, it is more than suspected, for I have heard it frequently asserted, that you received a secret pension a considerable time before the present one was openly avowed. As I have never had further proof of it than assertions, I candidly acknowledge that it ought not to have much weight; nor should I have mentioned it at all, but that I am convinced the public in general do not know there is such a clause in the act, and merely to shew that such a thing was possible. On Friday next, the motion of the Earl of LAUDERDALE on this subject is to come on in the House of Lords; and perhaps something may then transpire, which will confirm or invalidate the suspicion altogether.

As I have particularly mentioned this clause, and mean to draw an inference and deduction from it in favour of what I have said on the Four and a Half per cents. fund, I will beg leave to insert it *verbatim* from the Statute Book. It is the 21st, and says—"High Treasurer may return into the
 " Exchequer any pension, without the name of
 " the pensioner, on taking the following oath :

" *I A. B. do swear, that according to the best of*
 " *my knowledge, belief, and information, the pension*
 " *or pensions, or annuity or annuities, returned with-*
 " *out a name by me into the Exchequer, is or are not,*
 " *directly or indirectly, for the benefit, use, or behoof,*
 " *of any Member of the House of Commons, or, so far*
 " *as I am concerned, applicable, directly or indirectly,*
 " *to the purpose of supporting or procuring an interest*
 " *in any place returning members to Parliament.*

" SO HELP ME GOD."

And the 22d clause enacts, " that on taking the said oath, the pension or pensions, annuity or annuities aforesaid, shall be paid at the Exchequer, to the order of the High Treasurer, or First Commissioner of the Treasury, for the time being, and his receipt shall be accepted and taken as an acquittance for the same."

Now, Sir, on reading this clause, we see no restriction as to the *amount* of this *secret* pension :
prima

prima facie it would appear, that it might amount to any sum in the pleasure of the Crown to bestow; but doubtless, in construction of law, it would be held to be strictly consonant to, and within the scope of the foregoing clause, which regulates the limitation of pensions. In like manner, without mentioning at all the Four and a Half per cents. fund, it certainly extends to it; and though no provision was antecedently made, authorizing *secret* pensions to be paid out of that fund, this act would effectually do it; for there is no maxim in law more clear than this—that where Parliament has created an *old* fund, out of which pensions were to be paid *generally*; and afterwards an act passes the Legislature, which regulates the limitation of pensions *in general terms*—the new law must completely affect, bind and controul the old fund, unless it contains some express provision to the contrary. To say, therefore, that your pension, by being paid out of the Four and a Half per cents. fund, and not out of the Civil List, does not fly directly in the very teeth of your so much boasted bill of *economy* and *retrenchment*, when, by your own confession and avowal, it amounts to more than three times the sum that act allows to be granted to any but the Royal Family, or on an Address of either House of Parliament, is not only a barefaced and impudent assertion—but it is such an assertion, resting upon a subterfuge and a quibble, which would suffuse the cheek of an

OLD BAILEY SOLICITOR with a blush of the deepest dye. So much, Sir, for your evasive justification of your pension, as issuing out of the Four and a Half per cents. and not the Civil List—so unworthy of what you once were. It is a dangerous thing to tread on hollow ground, and an unpleasant one to defend a bad cause. You, Sir, I fear, labour under both these disadvantages at present, and I am sorry for you. You appear, indeed, to be “a desolate old man” in every thing but malignity; for, however robust, vigorous and magnificent your reasoning faculties might once have been on political subjects, they appear at this moment to be so warped, perverted, and debased, by *existing circumstances*, as not only to partake of the nature of gas, but, to use your own words, of very “*memphetic gas*” indeed.

But to return to your political career, from which I have been drawn aside by the observations I found it necessary, as to time and place, to make on your Reform Bill—I think I left you, Sir, just seated in the place of the late Mr. Rigby, of jocund and festive memory—that is to say, “*Paymaster-General of the Forces.*” You say, Sir, (p. 11.) that “You found an opinion common through all the offices, and general in the public at large, that it would prove impossible to reform and methodize the office of *Paymaster-General*”

“ *General.* You undertook it, however ; and succeeded in your undertaking.” It may be so. I candidly confess I am ignorant whether you did or not, and I will give you the reason why I am so. I had at that time read your Bill of Reform ; and it appeared to me so gross a delusion (though I had no conception it was so extensive as you have in your letter shewn us you intended it should be)—and the people appeared to be so completely gulled by it, that I became sick of attending to your measures any further. Indeed there was one circumstance immediately relative to the office of Paymaster-General, which banished all idea or hope of Reform from my mind. Immediately after your being appointed to that station, a serious charge was brought against two of the principal Clerks, for speculation and other malpractices in office ; and so strongly was it supported, that scarcely an individual out of the House of Commons, who read the account of it, did not believe it true. Notwithstanding which, you determined to keep them in their places. This rash resolve was taken advantage of by your opponents in the House, and such language addressed to you as would have made an impression on a less refined understanding. In that never to be forgotten and scandalous defence, the whole House—hear me, Sir ! it is true---the whole House coughed you down ! Facts, Sir, have only two tendencies :
they

they can only support facts, or expose falsehood: the whole House coughed you down!---At that period, your *Ciceronian* consequence forsook you: you sunk into the *Piscatory* Orator; and, with arms *a-kimbo*, said, "Gentlemen, you all know where I am to be found!"---Here, Sir, "the gall'd jade *did* wince" indeed! But you, Sir, persisted to the last; and they would in all likelihood have continued in their stations, had not *THEIR* feelings been more susceptible than your's—the one cut his throat, and the other absconded—which relieved you from your dilemma, whether you would or no. As the one made atonement for his transgressions by his death, and the other may have since done the same by a sincere repentance for his misdoings, I have forborne to mention their names, in pity to the feelings of their relatives and connections. It appeared, however, somewhat curious to me, that the man who pretended to cleanse the *Augæan* stable, should make use of such instruments for the purpose. I saw clearly, that the old proverb* was strongly in your favour—but as I was dubious, from the complexion of your Bill of Reform, whether you intended to prevent others from profiting by their skill in the *manœuvres* of office, or to take the benefit of it entirely to yourself, I gave up the point in despair, and de-

* *Set a Thief to catch a Thief.*

terminated

terminated to trouble myself no more with any of your *pretended* plans of reform.

My opinion of you as a public political Leader was now so fixed, that your subsequent actions made a very different impression on me to what they did on others. I beheld with a trifling *surprise* your coalition with Lord North, who, in the midst of all your opprobrious philippics, I always thought the honestest man of the two—and I determined in my own mind never to trouble my head in future about what you either said or did, when an accidental circumstance, which I cannot avoid mentioning in this place, occurred to awaken suspicions, which had long before been faintly impressed on my mind, and which subsequent events have since very strongly confirmed. As this circumstance has served me as a clue to unravel the mystery of some part of your late extraordinary conduct, and as it may do the same to such of my readers as may see it in the same light as I do, I flatter myself I shall be excused for requesting their attention to it.

In the spring of the year 1784, and during the sitting of Parliament, I happened to be at BATH; and one day calling on a lady of great and deserved celebrity in the literary world, whom I had the honour occasionally to visit *sans ceremonie*, the usual

usual compliments of the day were no sooner passed, than, with her accustomed frank and easy politeness, she asked me What news?—To avoid the repetition of *he* said, and *she* said, I will give the conversation as it passed, supposing the lady to be *A.* and myself *B.*

A. Have you read the papers to-day, Sir? *B.* I have, Madam. *A.* Is there any thing particular or extraordinary in them? *B.* Nothing very particular, Madam—though there is one fact asserted, which appears to me extraordinary, because I have never heard such a thing hinted at in the most distant manner before. *A.* Pray, Sir, what is it? *B.* Why, Madam, several of the papers positively say, that Mr. Burke is mad; and that several of his late speeches have been so wild and incoherent, that his friends tremble for him whenever he gets up to speak. *A.* (after a short pause) I shall be sorry if it proves true; but I should not be surpris'd at it. *B.* (with some eagerness and surprise) Pray, Madam, how so? *A.* I have long been in habits of intimacy with his nearest connexions, and know *him* very well. He is a man of strong passions, and of an uncommon irritability of nerves: he has been thwarted and disappointed all his life—I mean, his political life; and what is more, he has been uniformly and continually acting in direct opposition to his own *feelings*, and to his own *private opinions*; I can easily, therefore, conceive,

conceive, that such a man, as he gets into years, may be subject to some little derangement in his mental faculties; and as he is now sore from the various baitings he has had both in and out of the House on the subject of the coalition, I should by no means be surpris'd if there was some truth in the report. *B.* You have given me a piece of information, Madam, of which I had no conception: but can you really suppose, that Mr. B. was not sincere in his support of the Marquis of Rockingham, and his measures? *A.* I am afraid not. *B.* Don't you suppose him to be a staunch WHIG? *A.* I have great doubts; Mr. B. was educated at the Jesuits College at St. Omer's. You know their leading principle is to side with any party that is likely to put power in their hands. Lord Rockingham having been his first patron, and having never while in Administration conferred on him any place or pension that could render him independent of his patronage, seems to have constrained him to a line of conduct which appears to be direct—but from his vehemence and rancorous opposition to every measure of indulgence propos'd to be extended to any description of *Dissenters* except the ROMAN CATHOLICS, though supported by his nearest and most intimate friends, has given strong reasons to suspect that he would act much more congenially to himself with the TORIES; and I have heard it more than once hinted at in circles of no mean autho-

city, that he would have been provided for, and made independent, long ago, if those under whom he acted could have trusted him as they would have wished to do. *B.* You seem to suppose, then, Madam, that Mr. B. is a secret favourer of the Roman Catholic Religion! *A.* Early impressions are not easily eradicated; and there have been some circumstances——

At this moment, company being announced, the conversation broke off—I left Bath very soon afterwards, and have never had the pleasure to see the lady since.—The information, however, was to me new; and from the sources from which I knew the lady derived it, I thought it important. On leaving her house soon after, I went immediately home, and committed it to paper. It has enabled me to account for several of your actions since, which otherwise would have puzzled me: and as I shall have occasion to touch upon those in the sequel of this epistle, I thought it would not be amiss to give my readers that sort of clue which I had so very accidentally met with. I will, therefore, now quit the digression, and once more advert to the public part of your political course.

There is one part of your boasted services, on which you seem to value yourself most, which it is by no means my intention to pass over—but they have occupied so great a length of time, and
your

your several exertions on this subject have been made at such various and distant periods, that I have been obliged to consider them as miscellaneous, and to throw them together the first convenient opportunity that might occur. In glancing my eye this moment over p. 27, your mention of them meets my view, and I will therefore take notice of them in this place. Indeed, as they ended, in parliament, at the time of the coalition, I am not very far out of the regular order I have endeavoured to pursue. In that page you remark, " that the services you are called to account for, " are not those on which you value yourself the " most. If (say you) I were to call for a reward " (which I have never done) it should be for " those in which, for fourteen years without in- " termiſſion, I shewed the most industry, and had " the least success; I mean, in the affairs of India. " They are those on which I value myself the " most; most for the importance; most for the " labour; most for the judgment; most for con- " stancy and perseverance in the pursuit."

I have not the smallest doubt of your " labour, your constancy and perseverance," to obtain any object on which you have once set your heart. I do not dispute your " industry"—but I have such an opinion of your " judgment," that I am not at all surprised at your want of " success:"—nor can I by any means guess to whom you could look for

reward in this case—the INDIA COMPANY, or the CROWN—You have so alternately supported the rights of the one against the interference and controul of the other, and *vice versa*, that to which of them (if you were inclined to do so) you could “apply for reward,” I protest I am at a loss to guess. It is true, indeed, your last efforts were made, and vigorously too, in favour of the Crown—the Company, therefore, it may be presumed, would not be eager to “reward” you; and unfortunately the Crown would not accept the controul over the Company’s affairs on your terms—a back-stairs interview had convinced some folks that it might be had on more *advantageous ones*—and I therefore fear your claim of “reward” from that quarter would not be admitted. However, as you “value yourself most” for what you did respecting “India affairs,” I will lay before my readers, to convince them of the versatility of your genius, a specimen of your *exertions* on each side of the question, and leave them to form their own conclusions of what *your* ideas must be of *consistency, veracity, and principle*.

On the 17th December, 1771, you declared,
 “that you would oppose any measure that might
 “prove subversive of those rights which the East
 “India Company not only enjoyed by charter, but
 “*which they had bought*; that the learned coun-
 “sel at the bar had so fully gone through the
 “Company’s

" Company's rights to appoint supervisors, and so
 " ably stated to the House the necessity of such
 " appointments, as to have left conviction on the
 " mind of every gentleman who retained the least
 " particle of parliamentary independence, and the
 " *least regard to national faith.* You conjured the
 " House by all that was either dear or sacred, to
 " recollect the noble intrepidity of their brave an-
 " cestors, and how they would have acted *if any*
 " *minister in their time* had dared to have told them,
 " that the India Company were in a state of actual
 " bankruptcy, and on the brink of ruin, when he
 " himself was the cause of it. In short, consider-
 " ing that the Government annually received from
 " the Company ONE MILLION NET MONEY, *for du-*
 " *ties, customs, and excise, you thought no bill should*
 " *be assented to, which might at all affect their re-*
 " *venue."*

On the 23d of March, 1772, on the motion for
 restraining the India Company from dividing more
 than six per cent. on their capital, you said,
 " you intended to prove the following proposi-
 " tions :

1. " That the East-India Company were not be-
before the House.
2. " That if ever they were there, they had been
brought before the House by force, fraud,
and menaces.
3. " That

3. " That the treaty between Government and the Company was, on the side of the former, *iniquitous in every part of it.*
4. " THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS, *not one Lawyer, with a " RAG OF A GOWN UPON HIS BACK, OR A WIG WITH ONE TIE," had given it as his opinion, that the right to these possessions was vested in the Crown, and not in the Company.*
5. " That the French East-India Company, under a despotic government, was in a better situation than the English East-India Company, under a government which pretended to liberty.
6. " That with respect to the mode of conducting it, the *French Government was angelic,* compared with the English.
7. " That the very vote then about to pass, was such an infringement upon *chartered rights,* as the spirit of Englishmen could not brook ; and such a violation of the *constitution,* as might indeed be paralleled, but could not be exceeded in the annals of any country, how despotic soever."

" Respecting the *French East India Company,*
 " you said, that when they were in a deplorable
 " situation, the King took their debts upon him-
 " self, and has since punctually discharged them ;
 " that in the worst of times he had permitted them
 " to divide *five per cent.* and that he and his mi-
 " nisters

“ nisters had acted, compared with our King and his
 “ ministers with respect to their East India Com-
 “ pany, *like angels*; and that the French East India
 “ Company had flourished more in a land of des-
 “ potism, than the English East India Company
 “ had ever done in a land of boasted liberty; but
 “ our *liberty* consisted in *boasting* only, and was
 “ *imaginary*. What, said you, are you about to
 “ do? Are you not going to invade the *rights* of
 “ the Company as invested in them by *charter*?
 “ Have you such an authority by the *Constitution*?
 “ No! Are you not going to assume it? Yes!—
 “ Are you not going, as my noble friend (Lord J.
 “ Cavendish) has observed, to *seize the executive*
 “ *power, and illegally to deprive the Directors of the*
 “ *Company of their rights*?

In the years 1780 and 1781, you still persevered
 with the same vigorous eloquence and bold asser-
 tion, to defend the *chartered rights* of the Company
 —But,

On Monday, December 1st, 1783, you seemed
 to see things in a different light—“ A great deal
 “ (you said) had been thrown out about the viola-
 “ tion of charters and the rights of individuals.
 “ The bill then before the House you considered
 “ as the *magna charta* of Indostan. It was of more
 “ importance than ten *charters* of the East India
 “ Company, and demanded the earnest attention
 of

“ of the House. You defended the taking the con-
 “ tinuance of the administration of the Company’s
 “ affairs out of the hands of the Court of Direc-
 “ tors ; and said, after what was past, and the con-
 “ sequences, some of which you had shortly
 “ touched on, it would be an act of lunacy to con-
 “ tinue the government of the territorial acqui-
 “ sitions, and the management of the territorial
 “ revenues, any longer in the Company’s own
 “ hands. The East India Company had for-
 “ feited their trusts in various instances ; and with
 “ what pretence could they talk of the sacredness
 “ of chartered rights, who had broke through
 “ chartered rights in India in innumerable in-
 “ stances ? You were on your legs more than two
 “ hours. As you had been three years employed
 “ in studiously endeavouring to make yourself
 “ master of the subject, and had not during that
 “ time taken up the attention of the House upon
 “ the affairs of India, you hoped you should be heard
 “ with patience while you discussed the necessity
 “ of the present bill, and convinced the House,
 “ that if they had any regard for the safety of our
 “ territorial acquisitions in India, and the revenues
 “ derived from them:—any regard for the hap-
 “ piness and security of our Indian subjects, or
 “ any regard for the national interest and honour,
 “ not a moment should be lost in passing it into a
 “ law.”

So

So much, Sir, for your labours on East-India affairs—Having stated your public conduct relating to them *pro* and *con*. I will leave them without any further comment : only this, that however meritorious and deserving of reward they might be in your own estimation, they were long overlooked by those who at length advised your remuneration ; and had not certain events, which I shall by and by take notice of, intervened, and you taken the part in them which you have so vehemently done, I believe you might have waited for your pension till doomsday.

I cannot, however, entirely quit the subject without mentioning your charges against Mr. Hastings. As they were countenanced and supported by a majority of the House of Commons, and have since undergone a thorough investigation in an impeachment before the Lords, I shall say nothing as to the charges themselves. I will only call to your mind how necessary it is for every man to keep in view that grand and leading *moral* maxim—“ *Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.*” In the letter to which I now reply, you say (p. 7.) alluding to your defence of your pension—“ I put myself on my country. I ought to “ be allowed a reasonable freedom, because I stand “ on my deliverance ; and no culprit ought to “ plead in irons.” True, Sir ; and there is another maxim in the law of England, which says,

H

“ that

“ that every man charged with a crime is to be accounted *innocent*, until he is *convicted* of the same.” A golden rule, and ought never to be departed from. But in your conduct of the charges as one of the managers, you lost sight of it altogether; you loaded that great, but unfortunate and much-injured gentleman, with the blackest and most virulent abuse that malevolence could suggest, the imagination conceive, and the tongue convey;—you painted him, and you treated him, not as if he was “ *on his deliverance*,” but as if he were actually *proved* to be the most *atrocious criminal* that ever existed. And after all he was acquitted by the highest tribunal in the kingdom, and the greatest part of the nation sympathized with him in the joyful, and to him honourable event. I have no intention to pay any compliment to Mr. Hastings in this place, at your expence—He needs it not—the many late honourable and grateful testimonies of the approbation of his employers, by the payment of his law expences incurred by the impeachment, the remuneration of his services by a most liberal annuity, &c. &c. speak more emphatically in his favour, than any feeble praises in the power of my pen to bestow. I only take notice of it to shew that you ought “ *to mete* to others out of the same measure from which you would wish to have *meted* to yourself:” and if, therefore, in the course of this reply, I should use any terms of asperity which you
may

may think too severe, I refer you to the situation of Mr. Hastings; and, if ever you find any of your *feelings* hurt, though it should be only your *vanity*, request you to recollect, that you have in that instance, as well as many others more recent, set the example—and desire you to REMEMBER HIM.

We now come to a most important period indeed, not only in itself and its consequences, but also from the very active, and I may say *principal* part you have played in it: In which you appear to have *acted* in your *true character*—to have spoken the *genuine* sentiments of your heart, without even the thinnest veil or the smallest particle of reserve: In which you have totally either forgotten or recanted all the *great leading political* opinions of the former part of your life—and, not satisfied with all this, adopted others diametrically opposite to them; and in the short and fleeting space of four or five *little* years, have acted upon them with a facility, a spirit, and an energy, as if you had imbibed them with your alphabet, and practised them invariably, through every advancement of increasing knowledge, from that moment to the present.

You have quitted also—it is wonderful to tell—but it is not more strange than true---the earliest friends, companions, and fellow travellers in your political journey—men by whose side you invariably coincided in opinion, and maintained the ardent

combat of political and legislative warfare for many a year—men, among whom, though one was esteemed the NESTOR---another the AJAX—a third the ULYSSES—and the fourth the ACHILLES—you were generally allowed to be the CICERO of the Phalanx—men of whom you speak in your letter as “*of high place in the community,*” and of whom, speaking of an earlier period than I am now alluding to, you say—“It is some consolation to me, in the cheerless gloom which darkens the evening of my life, that with them I commenced my political career, and never for a moment, in reality, nor in appearance, for any length of time was separated from their good wishes and good opinion.”

“Chearless gloom” indeed! And how came you at last to separate from them?—Let the French revolution tell—let your *pension* declare. If your opinions on the *principles of liberty* had been always *sincere*—the French revolution could never have inspired you with different sentiments to those which animated the bosoms of your best friends on the same event taking place. You would have rejoiced in the reflection, that 25 millions of human beings, after a series of several centuries of oppressive, bloody, and vindictive tyranny, had at length emancipated themselves from the voracious jaws of a devouring despotism, and shivered their tremendous shackles against the heads of their oppressors.

pressors. Your eye would have sparkled with joy, and your bosom heaved in transport, at the idea of the gigantic evil of which they had rid themselves. Is it possible to conceive that a sincere friend to *liberty* in England could have one serious apprehension on his own account because the French people had obtained their freedom? It is an absurdity in terms that does not merit a moment's consideration.

How then are we to account for your so sudden defection from the party you had so long laboured with in the same vineyard, and enlisting yourself on the opposite side of the question?—I see but one way to answer this, and that is, that you were never *sincere* in your original professions, but only waited a proper opportunity to throw yourself with effect into the opposite scale. And lo! there is one most irresistibly presents itself. To *secure* their political liberty, the French saw no way that was in any degree likely to succeed but by reducing within certain limits the power of the church—and to this they sedulously and effectually applied themselves—they attacked and overturned the power and usurpation of the BEHEMOTH, who held them in a more dreadful subjection, and ruled them with a rod of iron more difficult to be broken, than all the combined powers of their temporal tyrants, manifold and imperious as they were. They threw off the yoke which had so long domineered
over

over their minds as well as their bodies—they rejected the supremacy of the POPE, and abolished the jurisdiction of his apostolic vicars—They humbled the pride, and reduced the swollen and overgrown revenues of the bishops and superior clergy, who did *nothing at all*; and divided it more equally among the inferior orders, who had all the spiritual labour devolved on their shoulders, and were scarcely able to obtain for themselves and families the *necessaries* of life, from the stipends they formerly enjoyed.

Be pleased to observe, Sir, I am only relating facts—and I will not resort to more of these than is necessary to elucidate my subject. In a word, the the power of his *holiness* the POPE was overturned completely in France, and

“Hinc illæ lacrymæ.”

In a short time after, your “*Reflections on the French Revolution*” appeared; and it is needless for me to mention with what unparalleled virulence you attacked it in all its parts. It is not my intention to dwell upon the subject further than to observe, that great care was taken by you, in that publication, to alarm the minds of the Nobility, and Commoners of fortune, in this country, that as the superior orders and privileges were abolished in France, if great care were not taken, the same game would inevitably be played over again in this country. An alarm artfully spread, and at a proper season,

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is but too apt to take an extensive effect; and, I am sorry to say, it did so here: the *aristocracy* very generally fell into the snare: parties who had before been as opposite in their natures and qualities as oil and vinegar, were seen to mix and blend together most cordially; and before the ferment which occasioned this was allowed to subside, almost all the grand bulwarks and barriers of the *Constitution* were either overleaped or laid prostrate.

A WAR was *necessary*, to answer and forward the projects and purposes of certain individuals. To extend the alarm, and give it as many ramifications as possible, was now the plan: the friends to reform were one and all denominated *republicans* and *levellers*; and these terms were ultimately *Frenchified* into *Jacobins*. Societies for the protection of "property and liberty," as it was termed by their promoters, were attempted to be instituted in every part of the kingdom—headed by men who clearly evinced by their every progressive step, that they wished to establish *despotism* under pretence of avoiding *anarchy*. But all this was not sufficient: Pamphlet was opposed against pamphlet—society against society: the scales were nearly equally poised: and the majority of the people seemed by no means ripe for encountering the heavy and inevitable expences of a war.

In order, therefore, to introduce this bloody and expensive tragedy with better effect, it was thought
advis-

adviseable to precede it with a serious prelude on the theatre of St. Stephen's, stating the *necessity* and *justice* of it—the danger of longer postponing it, and the most positive assurances that it would last only *one year*. The prelude was several times performed with great effect before tolerable full houses; the interest and importance of the subject drew thither several who were not in constant habits of attending such exhibitions; and those who could not gain admission were obliged to content themselves with such of the prominent speeches as were detailed in the daily prints, and the several comments and criticisms thereon. In these the management of the scene was highly extolled: two very celebrated actors alternately represented the *bowl**, which decorum forbade the introduction of in reality; and you, Sir, it is universally allowed, brandished the *dagger* with a grace and dexterity never before equalled. At length the resolution was taken—the prelude was withdrawn---the tragedy was declared to be ready for representation. ---Heralds were dispatched *abroad* to proclaim it and in a few short weeks, “*Bellum! horridum Bellum!*” resounded from shore to shore.

We are now, Sir, I believe, arrived pretty near the period when the idea first suggested itself to certain persons, that your many eminent services *lately performed*, merited some “reward.” Places

* The contents of which had sent them *reeling* to discharge their *important* duties in that Theatre.

there

there were none ;---those of your *quondam* associates whom you had *alarmed* into the determination of deserting, like yourself, all the *principles* on which they had plumed and prided themselves from their entrance into life ; which had hereditarily descended to some of them with their titles and estates, through a long line of ancestry ; and with those *principles* to tear themselves from the nearest and dearest friends of their early life, in order to *coalesce* with men whom they had repeatedly declared enemies to the *constitution*---enemies to the *interest, faith, and honour* of the nation---unworthy of *their* confidence, or that of any one else ---I say, Sir, of places, those your brother *apostates* had filled up all which could be spared from the *family compæct*. A *pension*, therefore, was the only remuneration at that time in their power to offer ---and a *pension*, let me tell you, Sir, is, in the opinion of many men as well as yourself, a very pretty thing---to console a man “ in the cheerless gloom which darkens the evening of his life,” when he looks around in vain for “ those men of high place in the community,” with whom “ he commenced his political career,” and enjoyed the brightness of its noon, but from whom he has as effectually separated himself, as if he had already taken his departure to

“ That undiscovered country, from whose bourne
“ No traveller returns.”-----

At length, then, we are arrived at the period when the pension is not only bestowed but avowed. Curiosity is on tiptoe to know the amount—and, on inquiry, it is found to exceed beyond all reasonable measure the highest sum allowed as the extent of a pension, by that very Act of Parliament which goes by the name of “ Mr. Burke’s Bill of Reform”—and of which you have made so many vain and idle boasts. In the course of attending his duty in the House of Peers, the Duke of Bedford, in mentioning the deplorable state of the finances, and the profuse expenditure of the treasures of the Nation, adverts to this pension of your’s as far exceeding the bounds of œconomy and moderation. This rouses you in the midst of your *pretended* seclusion from the world, and produces a letter to some noble LORD or other; but whether he resides on earth, in air, or sea or skies, we are left to guess; however it is no matter—we have got by it what *you* call a defence of your pension—and if you had addressed it to your *barber* it would have done just as well. I dare say he is some such honest facetious fellow as my Lord MAYOR’s, and perhaps, if the truth was known, might have given you the same early intimation of the grant of your pension, as the *Tensor* of his Lordship did of his small *slice* of the LOAN.

Had you confined yourself to mere Billingsgate abuse of the Duke of Bedford, or even his innocent
ancestors,

ancestors, who never could *personally* have offended you in the exercise of *their* duty—it might properly have been matter of silent contempt in his Grace, and of laughter to your readers, at seeing the petulant irascibility of one who calls himself “*a desolate old man.*” But the rancour and malignity of your intention appear so plain from the first page to the end of it, that it is evident, the defence of your pension is a mere stalking horse to cover a base assassinating attack on one of the most amiable and virtuous characters in the kingdom.

I have already apologized to his Grace for the mention I may make of his name. I have no authority to do so—but I claim a right which I am determined to exercise, though I should be sorry to offend him in so doing ; inasmuch as every individual is deeply interested in the preservation of the fame, the honour, and the welfare of an *illustrious* and *independent* Senator. Hail to the genius of HENRY the Eighth, I say, and his “ immoderate grants,” as you call them, “ to his Grace’s first ancestor :”—they were not the mere impulses of caprice from “ a tyrant to his favourite,” as you are pleased to rank them. I rather view them as the rich and distinguishing gifts of an all-seeing and all-powerful RULER, who, for his own wise and inscrutable ends and purposes, having thought proper, for a time, to countenance one of those scourges of mankind, called A TYRANT—in his be-

nescent mercy, infused into his heart to bestow on the founder of an illustrious family, such a portion of the Crown lands, as should operate and serve, in the hands of his virtuous descendants, as a mound to check the pride and stop the flagitious progress of tyrants in future.

I appeal to the annals of the English history, in support and justification of my idea. The pure patriotic blood of the illustrious RUSSELL, shed by the hand of a subsequent TYRANT, is strong in its behalf, as "proof of HOLY WRIT." The placidity of his countenance, both before his murderous execution, and after, when, with savage cruelty, it was, *as the law directs*, held up to public view; the sight of the blood of that great and good man trickling from the scaffold, first roused the torpid feelings of "a debased and degenerate people;" and from his ashes rose a flame, the brightness of which lighted the rising patriots of that day through the dark and dangerous paths they had to tread in their course towards the glorious Revolution which took place in 1688. Since that memorable period, the illustrious House of RUSSELL have invariably supported the same glorious principles of freedom for which their ancestor bled; and I have not the smallest doubt but that the great majority of the people of this country, will give the present noble inheritor of the title full credit for possessing all the
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invaluable virtues of his forefathers, till by some act of his own he shall prove the contrary.

Your attack upon his Grace, it is most clear, is intended to cut like a two-edged sword, both ways. By the first you wish to insinuate into the minds of the people a jealousy of *him*---and by the second, to make his Grace *distrustful* of his *countrymen*. In the very first page you couple his name with that of the Duke of ORLEANS, whom you have held out as a principal agent of the French revolution---thereby meaning to insinuate a similarity of disposition in two of the richest subjects in their respective countries. You shortly afterwards say---
 “It would be absurd in me to range myself on the side of the Duke of Bedford and the Corresponding society”---thereby insinuating that the Duke of Bedford is either a member of, or somehow or other connected with that society---and shortly after you have the assurance, on the mere authority of your own impudent assertion, to accuse them of being revolutionists.

As to his Grace, it is evident from your own shewing “that you have not the honour of his personal acquaintance”---a clear proof he did not deem you worthy of it, or he without doubt might have enjoyed it long ago---and as to the Corresponding society, you may make yourself perfectly easy---they would not suffer any such personage “to range himself on their side,” with their knowledge

ledge and consent---It is a rule of the society, that each candidate shall, before he is admitted a member, bring an *honest* man who is known to them to vouch for his character---Indeed, Sir, your range, if you made it, would be in vain. As to his Grace's connection with the society, I believe it is *inreality* as much as your own, and no more---His Grace's opinion of the views of the society I only know from his public declarations in Parliament. The society's opinion of his Grace I believe to be as favourable and respectful as his numerous good qualities so abundantly deserve.

Of his personal virtues, even you, Sir, seem to be so thoroughly persuaded, that you dare not venture to attack himself, and are therefore obliged to go back for centuries "to vex the sepulchre," and endeavour, to tarnish the honour of his ancestor in his shroud. But you fail even there. You wish to reduce his Grace's ancestor to a level with yourself---and to raise your paltry pension to an equivalent value with his "incredible grants" (as you call them) from the Crown: forgetting, either willfully or ignorantly, that the one was an estate in fee-simple to his heirs---the other a mere gratuity for life to the party obtaining it. You say, his Grace's ancestor was a *Pensioner* as well as you---This also I deny---he was a grantee of the Crown, of Crown lands to him and his heirs for ever; which lands, *no matter how acquired*, were, at the time of the grant, the undoubted, *actual property* of
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of the GRANTOR, as much as the Crown itself was; for by the same right that he possessed one, he held the other. You are the grantee of a pension for life, *or perhaps lives*, issuing not out of the pocket of the grantor, but out of the pockets of an industrious and impoverished people. I do not deny that his present Majesty has as good a right by the laws of the land to grant your pension, as Henry VIII. had to grant his Crown lands---he certainly has that right---and beyond that, the comparison holds no farther. His Grace is not, as you say, "a young man with old pensions,"---though you are certainly "an old man with a very young pension," or pensions, if you have them.

"Why will his Grace," you say, (p. 39,) "by attacking me, force me reluctantly to compare my little merit with that which obtained from the Crown those prodigies of profuse donation, by which he tramples on the mediocrity of humble and laborious individuals." One would think some Dæmon of perversion was sitting at your elbow, and hoodwinked your understanding, or you never could advance such palpable incongruities and misrepresentations. In the first place, I deny that his Grace did "attack you." In mentioning your pension, he only attacked administration for their lavish distribution of the public money, in an hour of the deepest and widest national distress. His Grace, nor any one else, could ever mean to convey a censure upon you, for accepting
what

what had been given. He might not see so clear as you seem to do, that you "merited that and more;" but it was an attack on the minister, which his duty as a lord of Parliament suggested to him to make, and not on you.

As to his "trampling on the mediocrity of humble and laborious individuals," I believe no man was ever more undeserving of such a charge. I have already declared, as you have, that I have not the honour to be personally acquainted with his Grace---but that is not necessary to know the character of a man in his elevated station in such points as that. There is too much envy and malignity in the world to dart their envenom'd shafts at such high and noble game, if he could even for one moment give them occasion. One solitary instance of such a base use of superior fortune would damn his fair fame for ever, and plant a corroding sting in his bosom---which all "the ocean of the royal bounty" in which you say "he plays and frolics," could never assuage or compensate. Fie, fie! intemperate and indiscriminate railer! He is as far from such a character as "*thou* from HERCULES." I have made an enquiry of a lady who was born at Wooburn, and who has had opportunities of seeing his Grace from his earliest infancy; and from her information I learn, that the suavity and urbanity of his manners can only be surpassed by the openness and philanthropy of his heart, and that his easy and unaffected politeness reflect a lustre on his high and distinguished rank.

But

But to return back to his Grace's ancestor ; for, much as you undervalue him, Sir, I by no means see any reason to turn my back upon him. As you have raked up his ashes, I am determined to see how they will bear the sifting. In page 41, you tell us, " The first peer of the name, the first " purchaser of the grants, was a Mr. Ruffel, a " person of an ancient gentleman's family," (*well, I am glad you allow that*) " raised by being a minion of Henry the Eighth." As to the minion we have only assertion ; but to proceed—

" As there generally is some resemblance of character to create these relations, the *favourite* was in " all likelihood much such another as his *master*." Why so, my good Sir?—Do you call this logical or fair reasoning, to draw your inferences from *likelihood*, when you are about to slur the character of a man who has been dead upwards of two centuries? Let us try the matter a little closer. Bishop CRANMER was a very great *favourite* of this same Henry the Eighth ; and yet, I believe, that *even you*, Sir, will not venture to say, that he was in any respect like his master ; on the contrary, he checked him in several instances, when no one else durst even hint an opposition to his brutal and overbearing will. And pray, Sir, why might not this be the case with Mr. Ruffel? If you have no authority to vouch that he was like his master but *likelihood* of analogy, you

ought to blush at having made the supposition: if you have any such authority, you ought, in justice to your readers, to have produced it, to enable them to form their opinion on just and fair grounds.

“ The first of these immoderate grants was not taken from the ancient demesne of the Crown, but from the recent confiscation of the ancient nobility of the land.” Pray, Sir, what do you mean by the ancient demesne of the Crown, and the ancient nobility of the land? Was not all the ancient demesne of the Crown, at the time of the landing of William the Norman, taken from our Saxon ancestors by *confiscation, proscription, and executions*, bloody as the bloodiest of Henry the Eighth? Did not the land at that period flow with rivers of blood? And such blood!—Oh shame! where is thy blush?—Was not the ancient demesne of the Crown, then in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the same which the Norman Bastard usurped from the heirs of the Confessor? Did not the ancestors of the ancient nobility, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, acquire their estates by confiscation? “ What sort of stuff are your dreams made of,” when you produce this by way of argument? If you wanted to throw an odium on his Grace of Bedford’s original title to his estates, you have aimed the same blow at the estates and titles of all the *ancient* nobility in the kingdom, and even on the Crown lands themselves.

selves. You talk of revolutionists;—if there are any such, which I do not believe, could the bitterest enemy to the present order of things have given them a more feasible argument on which to advance? For heaven's sake, leave off writing upon politics: count your *beads* and say your prayers, and prepare yourself for a better state; you appear to forget the regular order of this.

“The lion, having sucked the blood of his prey, threw the offal carcase to the JACKALL in waiting.” I suppose we are to understand by this, that the pension or grant was the offal carcase, and the *pensioner* the JACKALL. I can draw a logical deduction from this: *All pensioners are jackalls.*—*Edmund Burke is a pensioner*: Ergo, Edmund Burke is a *jackall*. Really, Sir, you have made very pretty company of yourself.

“This worthy favourite's first grant was from the lay nobility. The second, infinitely improving on the enormity of the first, was from the plunder of the church.” “Aye, there's the rub”—there's the “*enormity*” of Mr. Russell.—*The plunder of the church!* Oh sacrilege! —But pray, Sir, *What church was this?*—The church of ROME.—Oh damnable heresy! Here the cloven foot once more appears. You, Sir, are as subject to the prejudices of *education* as other men. I am sure you need not be told

what was the grand test **LYCUREUS** used for demonstrating the force of it, by bringing two whelps out of the same bitch, differently brought up, and placing before them a greasy *dish* and a live hare. The *one* that had been bred to hunting, immediately ran after the game; while the other, whose kennel and school had been a kitchen, presently fell to licking the platter. You directly charge the ancestor of the Duke of Bedford with being a church robber. I will thus far admit; he was one, with the majority of the nation, that would not submit to be educated in the trammels and *hallowed* corruptions of papal policy, with all its appendages of cheat and delusion—strait-laced submission—marts of indulgence—trinkets of superstition, cankerous blotches and excrescences. They had just learned to laugh at *interdicts* and *suspensions*, *denunciations*, *aggravations*, *excommunications*, and *thundering BULLS*, which for so many centuries had *fleeced* them even to the *confiscation* of their last shilling. It is admitted, I say, that they had not then the fear of *toe-kissing* HOLINESS before their eyes; and tho' I cannot admit so rude a word as *rob*, I will own, they certainly did *lessen* and *cut off* St. PETER'S PATRIMONY.

“ In truth, his Grace is somewhat excusable
 “ for his dislike to a grant of mine, not only in
 “ its quantity, but in its kind, so different from
 his

“ his own.” I can see no “ excuse ” for his Grace’s *dislike* of your grant, but the candid one which he gave when he mentioned it, which I have stated before, viz. “ that in a time of deep national distress, like the present, he regarded the enormous amount of it as a profuse expenditure of the public money.”—In any other respect it is impossible to conceive he could entertain the least dislike to it : for I have no doubt he would have acted in the same manner, let the grant have been conferred on whomsoever it might.

“ Mine was from a mild and benevolent sovereign ; his from Henry the Eighth.”—Mild and benevolent, indeed, Mr. Burke ! but you did not always thus express yourself in those terms. There was a time, and that time is still fresh in the memory of most men in the nation, when, to use your own language as applied to yourself—there was indeed a time when “ the storm had not gone over,” but lay heavy on your royal master, “ when he lay like one of those old oaks which the hurricane had scattered around him, stripped of all his honours, torn up by the roots, and prostrate on the earth,”—when he was “ *shorn indeed !* and to the very quick,”—when the dispensing hand of an ALL-WISE and ALL-MERCIFUL PROVIDENCE had visited him with the most afflicting disease and infirmity ; when every heart
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in the kingdom, *save one*, throbbed with sorrowful and sympathetic impulse for his unfortunate situation; at that awful moment of the deepest domestic woe, regardless of the feelings of his numerous and affectionate family, dead to every sentiment of *Charity*, of *Pity*, or *Humanity*, you appeared in your place in a certain assembly, and, with all the savage cruelty and brutality of a fiend, exultingly exclaimed, that “the AL-
“MIGHTY, in his *vengeance*, had hurled him
“from his THRONE.” Gracious God! “Can
“there be such men, and have they peace of
“mind?”—“To a nunnery go—to a nunnery
“go—go—go!”

It pleased, however, the same omnipotent Being, who has the disposal of all events in his hands, to commiserate his melancholy situation; to pour the healing balm into his wounds, and to comfort and make whole his broken spirit. He unexpectedly and almost miraculously recovered, to the *unbounded* and *universal* JOY of a *brave*, a *generous*, and a *loyal* PEOPLE. He recovered to exercise the first attribute of his Lord and Saviour, the *forgiveness* of injury. He is now, even in *your eye*, “a mild and benevolent sovereign.” He is indeed! How wonderfully can a *pension* soften and dulcify the acrimony of the most “accidulous” disposition!

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It was my intention here to have quitted the subject of the Duke of Bedford's ancestor, as I perceive nothing that follows, the authority of which does not depend upon your own modest assertion, and the burthen of which is the *diffident* comparison you make between *your* merits and *his*; respecting all which I think, and doubt not, the impartial and candid reader has by this time pretty well formed his judgment. But looking back a few pages, I perceive one particular passage that had before escaped me, and which, in point of modesty and liberality of sentiment, outdoes even *your* usual outdoings.

In p. 38, you say—"In private life, I have not
 "at all the honor of acquaintance with
 "the noble Duke. But I ought to presume,
 "and it costs me nothing to do so, that he abund-
 "antly deserves the esteem and love of all who
 "live with him. But as to public service, why
 "truly it would not be more ridiculous for me
 "to compare myself in rank, in fortune, in
 "splendid descent, in youth, strength or figure,
 "with the Duke of Bedford, than to make a pa-
 "rallel between his services, and my attempts to
 "be useful to my country." I should think,
 Sir, it would not be fair to set against "*services*,"
 "*attempts* to be useful."—But supposing it was be-
 tween *your* "*services*" and *his*—If you have really
 performed any services, it cannot be supposed
 that

that his Grace's should be equal to your's in *number*, as he has not lived half your years—but the promise he has given by the early display of abilities but seldom equalled in persons of his Grace's age, are very strong proofs indeed, that his years, though "few," have not, as you are pleased to couple the words, been "idle."—In *boasting*, he is by no means your equal—but in performance, I have every reason to presage that his real "*services*" will far surpass all your "attempts," as you very justly style them.

After this, you add, "It would not be gross adulation, but uncivil irony, to say, that he has any public merit of his own to keep alive the idea of the services by which his vast landed pensions were obtained." I think, when the candid reader seriously peruses the above, and considers it for a moment, he will allow, that more consummate vanity, more insolent boasting, more ungentlemanlike behaviour, and false assertion, never were huddled together into the small space of four lines. I have seen so much of your determination to stick at nothing, right or wrong, to carry your point, that I shall henceforward cease to wonder at any thing you do or say. The Duke of Bedford's "*merits*" speak sufficiently for themselves, without the aid of a *trumpeter*: Your's once, Sir, did the same; and there needs no stronger proof of their being most lamentably in their wain, than that your own dear self should be obliged to stand
forward

forward to toll their passing knell. It is only necessary for me to call to the recollection of my readers, his Grace's first speech in Parliament, to set this matter in the clearest point of view. It was not studied and written in the closet, and afterwards *got by heart*, as is the case with many of our Parliamentary orators.—No, Sir, it was *a reply*; and that in answer to two of the most *subtle*, and by no means the most inelegant reasoners, in the Upper House—Peers who were hackneyed in the ways of men, and the wiles of politics: one of them had particularly distinguished himself both for literary abilities and diplomatic excellence. To encounter two such champions, and that with such decided superiority of eloquence and argument as to bear away the palm from them in the most undeniable manner, was a proof of public “merit,” or rather *a public proof* of merit, and a ready display of talents, which would not have disgraced the *sublime* and *beautiful* juvenile essays of even the pre-eminent Edmund Burke. It is true, his Grace's talents were always under a check and controul of that diffidence and modesty which never fail to attend real *merit* and *ability*, but which you, Sir, were never troubled with. Educated from your infancy to play the part of a LOYAL, you were early taught that there was nothing so disgraceful as being defeated in obtaining the point you aimed at, be it what it might. Trained, like *a Swiss*, to combat only for *pay*, you darted

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your scrutinizing glances around ; and the pliant, easy Nobleman, whose vanity or ambition seduced him to put himself at the head of a party, but who wanted a *mouth-piece* in the House of Commons, to say what either nature or defective education had rendered impossible in himself to promulgate in the House of Lords, was the object at which you aimed. On the death of that amiable, but too aspiring man, the Marquis of Rockingham, you found yourself cast upon the wide world : you perfectly understood the situation and connection of all parties ; and on a *reconnoitre*, his Grace of Bedford, then in his minority, was the only hope you had left. Earl Fitzwilliam, who succeeded to the estates, though not the title, of your original patron, was too much attached to the shining ore, to barter it away, as his predecessor had done, for moonshine oratory in another quarter. When, therefore, his Grace so auspiciously broke the ice, and shewed that he was capable of *speaking for himself*, your hopes in *opposition* were at an end, and you lost no time in throwing yourself into the arms of administration, whose views and plans were so exactly congenial to your own. The Duke of Bedford is, as you are pleased to term him, “a LEVIATHAN,” in the path of the arbitrary projects which you must either relinquish altogether, or carry through at every hazard: No wonder, therefore, that the *apostates* and *pensioners* of the day should
he

be set on to defame and depreciate his intrinsic worth.

"*My merits,*" you proceed, "whatever they are, "are original and personal; his are derivative." You have taken the liberty, Sir, to abuse the Duke of Bedford's ancestors without mercy: but you are determined he shall not be able to retaliate upon you; for you have expressly declared, that *you never had any*. Your merits originated in your own person: you might be *created*, it seems; but you were neither born nor begotten—for you draw the line of distinction between the merits of his Grace and yourself, by expressly declaring that "his were *derivative*;" which implies that your's were not, and therefore, as you say, *original* and *personal*. "According to this account, you never had a father—or, if you had, he was totally destitute of all *merit* whatever; for you assert, you were the original founder and possessor of that quality, in all your family—that it was *personal* in yourself, and the Duke of Bedford had ancestors, from whom you allow he derived his merits. What a complete mixture of jargon and nonsense is here!

Such ridiculous trash deserves only to be thrown into the fire. It is inserted along with your second abusive edition of the French Revolution, merely to draw off the reader's attention from the

consideration of your main point, which is *your pension*. But I think I have sufficiently shewn this in its true colours, and will not now waste any more time about it. I will therefore proceed to your challenge of a trial—in which you say, “you claim not the letter, but the spirit of the old English law; that is, to be tried by your *Peers*.” Always a friend to the TRIAL BY JURY, I should be glad to see this carried into execution; but there seems to be a small impediment in the way: *Your PEERS* can only be *pensioners* and *apostates*: like a foreigner who is tried criminally, who has a right to six of each party of foreigners and of persons of this country—that is, half and half; but if you are indulged with a trial by your *Peers*, being both a pensioner and apostate, your *Peers* are all men who are interested in the cause; before such a tribunal you will be sure to be acquitted.

But what is very extraordinary, is, that you positively accuse the Duke of Bedford of being a “*pensioner*,” and yet “*challenge him as a juror to pass upon the merit of your services*,” and here again you have a come-off: As a *pensioner*, he is so far your *Peer*; but as you are an *apostate* also, and his Grace never swerved from the grand political opinions which he is not ashamed to say “*he derived from his ancestors*,” there the comparison loses half its force, and,

and, according to your own account, he is only *half your Peer*.

You have artfully introduced the French Revolution, once more, to the notice of the public; and you have vomited forth against it, and all who are concerned in it, such a volume of abuse, as fills up the greatest part of your letter. This will certainly take off the attention of your readers from the chief point they ought to keep in view, which is your *pension*, and whether you deserved it or not. In like manner you endeavour to prove, without any other authority than your own assertion, that there are societies in this kingdom, whose members entertain revolutionary principles; and, under a feigned pretence of wishing well to the Duke of Bedford, you audaciously advise him "to employ his great wealth in opposing and crushing rebellion;" as if there was a doubt he would not do so. You then endeavour to alarm his mind by directly accusing certain persons, whom you call Revolutionists, with "looking "at his Grace and his landed possessions," as an object at once of "curiosity and rapacity;" and from thence you run on into such a length of ill founded accusation, that it is impossible to answer the whole in less than a folio volume; and it is needless and nugatory to follow you through a train of such rancorous misrepresentation and falsehood. The Duke of Bedford has too sound

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an understanding, to be duped by such a wretched, far-fetched argument, even supposing it came from one he respected ; but from such a suspicious quarter as “Dagger Burke,” his ineffable contempt is the only notice he can or ought to treat it with.

Fearing, however, lest I may forget, as I am now, I hope, drawing near to a conclusion, to mention one passage of your letter which does not come within the scope of any of those points in which we so widely differ in opinion, I cheerfully declare it to be such, that if I found myself insensible of its merits, or disposed to withhold from it my poor tribute of praise, I should despise myself so long as I live. I need not say, I should suppose, it is that which relates to your Son. That alone would be sufficient to ensure celebrity to your book, as a literary performance ; and does equal honour to your heart and head. It is a composition of the softest touches of nature, heightened by the brightest polish of art—the embalment of honour, virtue, and filial piety, in a rich and magnificent mausoleum of paternal affection. It seizes the feelings, and arrests or rouses them at its will. It is a blazing meteor, issuing directly from the burning mint of sensibility, which carries its flame in its splendid train, and, with the swift and irresistible force of the electric fire, darts into the bosom, and penetrate

netrates deep into the inmost recesses of the heart.

Immediately after this passage, Sir, you proceed with a long string of most violent and virulent invective against some persons whom your imagination, ever fruitful, describes as Revolutionists, and "learned professors of the Rights of Man;" and against those you affect to warn the Duke of Bedford, as if he had even encouraged any such principles. You tell him, that "they have designs against his lands in their contemplation of an Agrarian Law—and of his numerous spacious mansions, for the purpose of pulling them to pieces, in order to make gunpowder." Not a single circumstance which has come to your knowledge as having happened in France in the course of the Revolution, but, with all the solemn assurance of assertion for which I have repeatedly shewn you are so dextrous and daring, you have assimilated to some persons in this country, who, I believe, never had existence but in your own crooked and distempered imagination, and from whose machinations you predict, if not strictly watched, the downfall inevitable of this happy government. Though it is in the sixth page of your letter that you mention the Corresponding Society, and I do not recollect that you say a word of them afterwards by name, it is easy to perceive that you mean to allude

allude to them. And is it not astonishing, that because they have advocated the cause of Parliamentary Reform, that they are therefore to be accused, on no other ground but wild and extravagant assertion, with having designs to overturn the Government, and effect a Revolution ? This is a shameful procedure. The friends to Reform, in this country, will, I am bold to declare, be found the best and most sincere friends to the Constitution, and to the wellbeing of the Commonwealth. Is it not a shocking circumstance, and strongly descriptive of the depravity and degeneracy of the times, that the most virtuous men, both in and out of Parliament, are every day branded with the odious appellation of being enemies to the Government, merely because they point out and execrate the numerous abuses which have crept into it ? Yet so it is, that, for doing this, they are held up as objects of terror to such noble personages as the Duke of Bedford : but I am convinced his Grace possesses a mind too noble, liberal, and manly, to be duped and led astray by such base and detestable artifices.

“ Am I to blame,” you ask, “ if I attempt to
 “ pay his Grace’s hostile reproaches to me with
 “ a friendly admonition to himself ? Can I be to
 “ blame for pointing out to him in what man-
 “ ner he is likely to be affected, if the sect of the
 “ Canibal

" Canibal Philosophers of France should profe-
 " lytize any confiderable part of the people,
 " and, by their joint profelytizing arms, should
 " conquer that Government to which his Grace
 " does not seem to me to give all the support
 " his own security demands ? Surely, it is pro-
 " per that he, and that others like him, should
 " know the true genius of this feft; what their
 " opinions are ; what they have done, and to
 " whom ; and what (if a prognostic is to be
 " formed from the difpositions and actions of
 " men) it is certain they will do hereafter. He
 " ought to know that they have sworn assistance,
 " the only engagement they will ever keep, to
 " all in this country who bear a refemblance to
 " themselves, and who think as fuch, that *the*
 " *whole Duty of Man* confifts in destruction. They
 " are a mifallied and difparaged branch of the
 " Houfe of Nimrod : They are the Duke of
 " Bedford's natural hunters ; and he is their na-
 " tural game."

I will appeal to the good fenfe and candour of
 his Grace the Duke of Bedford, and of my
 readers in general, if they ever beheld a more
 precious *morceaux* of idle, incoherent and ridicu-
 lous rhapsody, than the above. It is intended
 to be applied to every one, it is evident, who
 differs in opinion with the fage writer and his
 immaculate associates. It fpeaks of paying " his

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Grace's

Grace's hostile reproaches to you with a friendly admonition to himself." Friendly, indeed!—the friendship of the Wolf to the Lamb! But what does it mean except to alarm? If there are any such dreadful, mischievous, wicked creatures in this country, why not point them out? Let them be accused, and, if found guilty, punished as their crimes deserve. But no; that will not do: that has been tried, and, with all advantages of spies and informers, a train of learned lawyers such as before were never arrayed together, with the most *defective memories* in many of the principal witnesses produced in exculpation of the accused parties, their innocence shone bright and conspicuous through the "*clouds of witnesses*" produced against them, and triumphed over all the deep malignity of their base and false accusers. The same game of obscure inuendo and dark insinuation is still to be kept up, backed by assertions as bold as though the facts were proved beyond a possibility of doubt. For a task like this I know no agent more fit and capable than you, Sir; and if the present *just* and *necessary* war goes on much longer, I know no one so likely to earn a pension, if the old-established maxim of "*Divide et impera*" is necessary to be enforced either by threats or persuasions; and if the power of fiction should be wanting, your inventive genius will never fail to raise wind-mills in plenty, to keep every hot-headed Royalist in play—

play—when Republicans and Levellers, known only in your own fertile imaginations, are nowhere else in reality to be met with.

There is still one passage, Sir, in your letter, which I cannot take leave of you without making some observations on. It stands in p. 45, a number once highly celebrated in this country, and runs thus : “ It was my endeavour, by every
 “ means, to excite a spirit in the House where I
 “ had the honour of a seat, for carrying on, with
 “ early vigour and decision, the most clearly just
 “ and necessary war that this or any nation ever
 “ carried on ; in order to save my country from
 “ the iron yoke of the power and pride of France,
 “ under a rule which appeared in the worst form
 “ it could assume, and from the more dreadful
 “ contagion of its principles ; to preserve, while
 “ they can be preserved, pure and untainted, the
 “ ancient, inbred integrity, piety, good nature
 “ and good humour of the people of England,
 “ from the dreadful pestilence, which, beginning
 “ in France, threatens to lay waste the whole
 “ moral, and, in a great degree, the whole phy-
 “ cal world, having done both in the focus of its
 “ most intense malignity.” If your pretensions to your pension were before equivocal, they are now proved to be valid and praise-worthy beyond a possibility of doubt. To a nation so overflowing with wealth as this is, with such a flourishing

trade and moderate taxation, what could be more advantageous than a vigorous, bloody and expensive war? *John Bull*, you know, is a beast fit to carry burthens; and if we did not load him heavily now and then, he would get so fat and saucy, there would be no bearing him. *Doctor Sangrado's* regimen was a very good one, after all; "Bleeding, and plenty of water," either warm or cold, is an excellent remedy for taming spirits that are too proud and haughty. The English people are never so happy as when they are at war—so much bustle, noise and parade—"pride, pomp and circumstance;"—all the *necessaries* of life at so *reasonable* a price! Zounds, Sir! if it was not for a war now and then, the majority of the people would kill themselves with over-eating and indigestion. The man who advises *war* in a commercial country like this, must be an *admirable* friend to it. Hail, therefore, Sir, to your little snug pension of 4000*l.* a year! you certainly have "*earned*" it nobly,

Before I finally take my leave of you, I wish to pay attention to what you say in regard to the mode of obtaining it. Your words are, "In one thing I can excuse the Duke of Bedford for his attack upon me and my mortuary pension. He cannot readily comprehend the transaction he condemns. What I have obtained was the result of no bargain—the pro-
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“duction of no *intrigue* ;” (oh fie, Mr. Burke ! to talk of these things at your age !)—“ the result of no compromise, the effect of no solicitation. The first suggestion of it never came from me, mediately nor immediately, to his Majesty, or any of his Ministers. I was entirely out of the way of serving, or of hurting any statesman, or any party, when the Ministers so generously and so nobly carried into effect the spontaneous bounty of the Crown. Both descriptions have acted as became them. When I could no longer serve them, Ministers have considered my situation. When I could no longer hurt them, the Revolutionists have trampled on my infirmity.”—I should be glad to know who those are you style Revolutionists, whom you accuse of having trampled on your infirmity ?—I am afraid you are somewhat in the situation of the Knight of *La Mancha*, whose *Dulcinea del Toboso* existed only in his own *bewildered* imagination. You seem to be equally as much enamoured with the *Revolutionists*, who I believe are about as easily to be found as the peerless *Dulcinea*.

“ My gratitude, I trust, is equal to the manner in which the benefit was conferred,” &c. p. 6. If (as you say) you have heretofore obtained the admiration of the public, you have in this instance a triple claim for *humility*, *modesty*, and *taciturnity*. The public will most certainly applaud

applaud your grateful *humility*, in first acknowledging it to be the “*spontaneous bounty* of your SOVEREIGN,” and, in the same breath, *modestly* challenging it as a *merited right*; and afterwards closing the sentence with the political gag in your mouth, that you might not inform them on what services you grounded your *modest claim*.

But I believe I can account for the reason of your obtaining this same pension “*unasked*.”—That it was “the production of no intrigue,” I much doubt; but as for the asking for it at the moment, there was no occasion. Your famous *dagger scene* had made such a deep impression on the Treasury Bench, that they had ever afterwards a watchful eye on you: several times they attempted to keep you down; but in vain—till you so often let the cat out of the bag, they were afraid of losing her: the *Chiltern Hundreds* were therefore proposed and accepted—the grant of the pension made out—and you found yourself as snug and happy at Beaconsfield, as when you formerly enjoyed the munificent bounty of the Marquis of Rockingham, or the good-natured assistance of the simple but friendly Lord Verney.

Before I conclude, I have to apologize to the public for having so long trespassed on their attention
and

and patience. They are, on the present occasion, a *legal* and *constitutional* HIGH COMMISSION COURT, who are, in forming the awful TRIBUNAL before whom "you have put yourself on your deliverance," to act in the double capacity of your JURORS and your JUDGES. After having determined on their *verdict*, they will pass sentence according to the result of it; and neither you, Sir, nor I, can have any thing to fear from their *candour*, their *liberality*, or their *justice*. The question is contained within a very *narrow* compass—within "a nut-shell," as the grave and reverend SAGES of the Law express themselves. The chief point in issue between us, is this: You have boldly and unequivocally asserted "your *claim* to a pension, in consideration of your *long* and *laborious* SERVICES, rendered to the *PUBLIC*." I have denied your claim; and the proofs I have adduced in support of my argument, are most of them drawn from the *volume* of those very services of which you boast so highly. In bringing them forward, I may have expressed myself with *warmth*; but I hope and trust that I have not *wittingly*—*wilfully*, I am certain, I have not—endeavoured to *deceive* or *mislead* that Court and Jury for which I shall ever entertain the highest and most unbounded respect, and to whose decision I shall always bow with the greatest *humility* and *deference*. I have endeavoured to keep in view the excellent advice of the Poet, to "no-
thing

thing *extenuate*, nor set down aught in *malice*."—
 I have produced *facts*, where facts are to be met
 with ; and have never depended on conjectures,
 but where the nature of the case would not admit
 of stronger proof. I think I have pretty clearly
 made it apparent, that, however *laborious* your
 life may have been, those *labours* have been uni-
 formly and unremittingly employed for the
 advancement only of *party interests*, and never for
 the *great leading interests* of the *community* or NA-
 TION at large ; and that you are yourself the
 only individual in the kingdom who has been be-
 nefited by them, and that by the very *pension*
 which is the subject matter in dispute. I have
 shewn by facts which are most of them on record,
 that your political conduct in the House of Com-
 mons, is a tissue of contradictions so gross and
 glaring, that there would be no occasion to put
 the public in mind of them but from the differ-
 ent and distant periods in which they severally
 took place, and the fluctuating and revolving
 state in which society continually exists. Some
 of the important events spoken of, have passed
 within the memory of almost all who are capable
 at the present moment to form a judgment of
 them—many more, at such distant periods as to
 make them unknown to a majority of the pre-
 sent day. I have therefore stated them fairly,
 and often without a single comment. The nature
 of this reply would not admit of it, or I would have

shewn

shewn, that your literary labours are equally adverse and contradictory to each other in every *fundamental principle*: There is scarcely a sentiment or opinion in your *Reflections* on the French Revolution that is not a direct contradiction of yourself in the "*Thoughts on the present Discontents*," and others of your earlier productions; so that all those who wish to be guided by your judgment, must be at a loss to determine which to *believe* as that which is *really* and *fundamentally* the *true one*. If it be admitted that you were once a man of great *science*, it appears to me that your labours, instead of *services* to the age in which you live, or to posterity, must be productive of the deepest *injury*; for, taken together, they will exhibit a huge and monstrous mass of deformity, consisting of *self-interested cunning*—*hypocritical*, time-serving *tergiversation*—ending, at last, in the most barefaced and unqualified *apostacy* that ever disgraced and blotted the page of history, in the recorded annals of the most corrupt and degenerate nations which have in point of time preceded us.

"*Monstrum ! horrendum ! informe ! ingens !*"

I flatter myself, also, that I have shewn, more forcibly than you have shewn to the contrary, that the original ancestor, in point of title I mean, of the illustrious House of RUSSIA, did not receive his "*profuse grants*," as you call them, from being the *pander*, or *minion*, or *jackal*, of



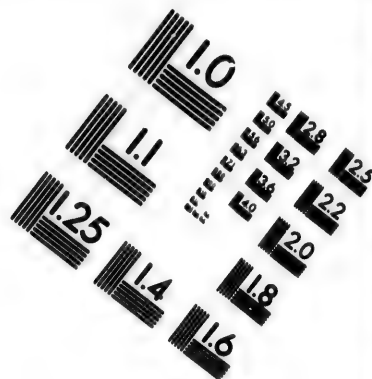
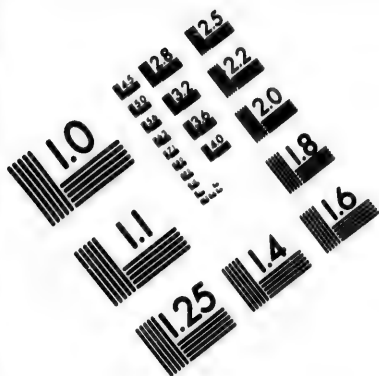
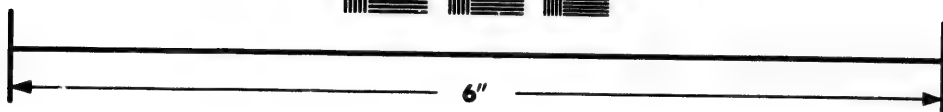
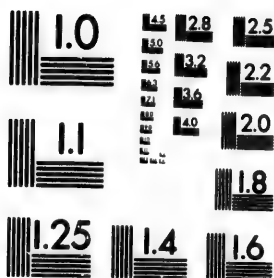


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that ravenous LION, Henry VIII.; but that the fair presumption is, he was a man of superior virtues and abilities, with a sufficient skill and knowledge of the human heart to ward off the jealousy of the tyrant whom he served, by dextrously giving way before, and soothing his passions, without feeding or exciting them—and by exerting that share of dissimulation, and seeming acquiescence to his will, which must be *necessary*, and which *necessity* excuses at least, if it does not strictly and *morally* justify, in his conduct towards such a capricious monster, whose savage will was the only law and tenure by which all or any of his subjects, even to the *very highest*, held their honour, their properties, their liberties, and even their lives.

Bishop CRANMER was one of the *best* of men, in point of morality, piety, and every other Christian virtue; and yet he contrived so to demean himself as to outlive his tyrannical master, and all his inordinate appetites, without ever being accused, or even suspected, of administering to any of them, except that of overthrowing the monstrous power of that descendant from the WHORE of BABYLON, his HOLINESS the POPE. For two centuries, the *honour* of the first *titled* ancestor of the House of RUSSELL has lain undisturbed in the tomb, till you thought proper “to vex the sepulchre;” and drag it forth, for the purpose of stabbing it through

through the shroud. Had you proved your *major*, it would not have added a jot to the strength and support of your own argument ; for if Henry VIII. or even his present gracious Majesty, had bestowed five hundred other *unmerited* pensions, and a thousand times more exorbitant than your's, it would be no excuse for your's, if *that* was not *deserved*, or if *that* were specifically too large. But against the merits of Mr. RUSSELL you have produced nothing but surmise and conjecture, backed by your own assertions, the credibility of which, after what I have shewn, I leave entirely to the Jury.

With regard to the present Possessor of the honours and virtues of the House of RUSSELL, I will only add, that, if there ever had been the smallest blemish in the title of his first ancestor to the "rewards" he obtained, his Grace derives from a stock whose title is the best founded, and whose *honours* will *never fade*—the GREAT and never to be forgotten LORD WILLIAM, who on the scaffold expiated with his *pure blood* his opposition to the will of a tyrant : And in my mind, he is well entitled to the thanks of his country, for the part he took in mentioning your pension in the terms he did—but much more so for the decided and manly manner in which he has from the first opposed the late obnoxious Bills, which have in some measure broken down the barriers

established at the Revolution against the incroachments of future tyrants, if any such should ever attempt to raise their snaky heads in this country. In doing this, he has clearly evinced, that the same patriotic spirit warms his heart and animates his mind, as so amply filled those of his glorious and immortal forefather. His Grace stands in need of no praise of mine, but I owe him a large debt of gratitude, which I have endeavoured in part to repay by this acknowledgment of my sense of his eminent services to his country in that virtuous struggle; and by this public promise I now make, that I shall always be proud in bestowing my feeble aid to defend his character from such base and pitiful attacks as have lately been made on it.

I hope I shall be excused for entreating, in as few words as possible, that awful Tribunal to which I now address myself, to make allowance for any incorrectness, or even more weighty defect, they may perceive in the style and manner in which this epistle is written.—It is literally and truly a work of six days; and I shall be just able to rest from my labours on the seventh.

Before I finally close, I shall beg leave to state my humble opinion of the intrinsic merit of your Letter, to which this is a Reply. Your former work, “*Reflections on the French Revolution*,” is generally

generally allowed to be a rancorous, but vivid burst of *splendid insanity*, issuing from a mind that had once been richly stored and highly luminous.—Your “*Letter to a NOBLE LORD,*” shews the rapid decay of that mind, and its powers. It is chiefly composed of ungentelemanly, *personal* invective—In politics, mentally imbecile—In some parts, soaring above all precedent for grossness—but in none orthographically beautiful, except in the reflections on your departed Son—replete with the coward philosophy of a heart panting for a restoration of the deception and hypocrisy of good OLD MOTHER CHURCH, and trembling at the idea of a bugbear of your own creative fancy, for the security of that national tenure by which you hold a *mortuary*, as you call it, gifted to you in the agonizing struggles of an administration, insolent and prodigal in the extreme, and long since dead to all the principles of virtue !

I am, Sir, &c.

M. C. BROWNE.